Arabian Night's Tale—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

December 22, 1951

Are the Alps Neutral?

The Swiss Try a Communist

BY ERIC JOSEPHSON

*

Miami: Anteroom to Fascism

BY STETSON KENNEDY

*

Mr. Churchill Packs His Bag - - - - - - - *Andrew Roth*

The "Happy" Homosexual - - - - - - - *M. R. Sapirstein*

'If Your Agent Doesn't Call" - - - - *Charles R. Allen, Jr.*

After the Deadlock - - - - - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Shattered Illusion of Reform

Chicago

FOR about three and a half years Chicago liberals have had a growing suspicion that Martin H. Kennelly is less a reform mayor than a buffer between the people and the machine politicians, a figurehead who piously talks reform while his Democratic colleagues in the City Council make a mockery of his every high-sounding phrase.

Since December 6 they have been practically certain that they were right —that Kennelly's role is to be a smoke screen behind whom the machine goes its grafting way. On that day Kennelly broke his habit of uttering glittering generalities and made one of his infrequent comments on a controversial issue before the Council. Referring to Alderman Clarence P. Wagner, leader of the machine forces and often called the "assistant mayor" because he is chairman of the powerful finance committee, the Mayor angrily declared, "I want to say that as mayor I've had the fullest support from Alderman Wagner. He's done a huge job for the city government and this administration. And I want everybody to know I'm 100 per cent behind him."

To understand the climactic nature of this statement, it is necessary to go back to December, 1946. The Democratic Party in Chicago was at a low ebb. Licking its wounds after the previous month's unsuccessful contests, the organization found itself facing almost certain defeat in the impending mayoralty election unless some major changes were made in its slate.

The late Edward J. Kelly, the man who had done so much at the 1944 convention to make Harry S. Truman President, was completing his fourteenth year as mayor, and his chances of continuing were not good. The people were fed up with a school system shot through with corruption, and there was a long list of other civic sores that needed medication. The party leaders, therefore, persuaded Kelly to step down and nominated Kennelly, a white-thatched bachelor business man of unchallenged personal integrity whose only previous political ventures had consisted in sponsoring anti-Kelly candidates for various offices in Democratic primaries. Running on a platform that called for reforms in practically every phase of the city's operations, Kennelly was swept into office by a large margin. Espousing similar ideas, a number of young war veterans were elected to the City Council, replacing "Kelly men" who had been around for a long time. Most of these new faces were Republican, some were Democratic, but they were all committed to the Mayor's basic platform.

In the four and a half years that followed, rehabilitation of the school system was Kennelly's one major reform—in fact, his one significant accomplishment of any kind. The rest of his program, with a few minor exceptions, has languished, despite the efforts of the outnumbered insurgent group in the Council.

The majority Democratic bloc in the Council has consisted of three or four men like Wagner and about twenty-five rubber-stamp colleagues who have done as Wagner and his associates dictated. (One of the twenty-five, Alderman Frank Micek, recently told a reporter that he was "not much on city government or politics.") The militant minority has been made up of from fifteen to twenty members of the fifty-man Council, three or four of them independent Democrats and the others Republicans. Time after time Kennelly has kept silent on major issues, failing to back the minority group that stands for what he says he stands for but taking care not to align himself openly with the Wagner bloc.

When he ran for reelection this spring against a relatively unknown Republican, Robert L. Hunter, Kennelly clung to the platform that he had advocated four years earlier. He magnified little instances of reform and promised that bigger ones would be forthcoming. But when deals between the Democratic and Republican machines insured the reelection, without contest, of sixteen anti-reform aldermen, the Mayor made no protest. He was reelected by a smaller, but still comfortable, margin. His mandate to go ahead with the reform program has been no more of a spur than the platform on which he was originally elected. Adequate housing, real civil-service reform, and trimming of unnecessary city expenditures are no closer today than they were at the end of the Kelly administration.

Revelations of large-scale graft and waste in certain city departments this fall led to demands for a "Little Hoover Commission" to streamline the executive branch. This angered the Mayor and impelled him to make his long-delayed choice of sides. Wagner saw to it that the commission proposal was emasculated in committee. It was during subsequent floor debate on the issue that Kennelly made his momentous pledge of support for Wagner and for whatever Wagner stands for.

Now even diehard Kennelly men among the city's sincere reformers are beginning to cast about for a leader to begin the fight anew. Currently considered most likely to take up the cudgels is Alderman Robert E. Merriam of the Fifth Ward, a leader of the Democratic "militant minority." The thirty-three-year-old Alderman is the son of Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago, who himself battled for reform as a Fifth Ward alderman years ago.

W. A. J.

[*W. A. J. is a Chicago newspaperman.*]

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

HAROLD E. STASSEN, WHO ONCE PLAYED THE leading role in Minnesota Republican politics, has been reduced to the ignominy of bit parts. Senator Robert Taft's announcement that he intends to campaign for Republican delegates in Minnesota probably means the end of Stassen's influence in the state. The fact that Taft's name will not necessarily appear on the primary ballot does not have any real bearing on the amount of support he may receive. The present Minnesota primary, which was enacted in 1949 as a means of aiding Stassen, selects only seven of the state's twenty-eight delegates. That Roy Dunn, Minnesota's "Mr. Republican," has decided to take charge of the Taft campaign indicates how feebly the Stassen candle burns in Minnesota at the moment. Actually, President Truman cleverly tipped the scales in Minnesota for Taft last summer when he named Republican Governor Luther Youngdahl to a federal judgeship. With Governor Youngdahl's departure from the partisan arena, the way was cleared for Roy Dunn to control the state's delegation to the next Republican convention. It will be interesting to see how Stassen fares with Minnesota voters if he decides to enter the March primary after his return from a visit to General Eisenhower's headquarters in Europe.

✶

THE OPERATION OF MR. TRUMAN'S EMPLOYEE "loyalty" procedures never appeared more tyrannical than in the dismissal of John Stewart Service, veteran State Department career official. The Loyalty Review Board, headed by former Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, admitted there was no affirmative reason for considering Service disloyal. It held, however, that there was "reasonable ground" to doubt his loyalty because in 1945 Service had given copies of some of his reports from China to Philip Jaffe, coeditor of the magazine *Amerasia.* In 1945 there was no reason for Service to suspect—nor has it ever been shown—that Jaffe transmitted information to the Soviet Union. Service, like any other State Department official, had a clear right to declassify information on which he himself had placed a classification rating. Like other State Department officials, he had a duty as well as a right to provide the facts to accredited editors and reporters. In public speeches and in conversations he had given other newspapermen substantially the same information he gave Jaffe—and the loyalty review board had no criticism of this. Unfortunately Mr. Truman last July 21 changed the standards of the loyalty program to allow discharge of an employee not because of "reasonable grounds" for believing him "disloyal" but merely because of "reasonable doubt" of his "loyalty." The burden of proof was thus shifted entirely to the accused. And in the Service case the board applied the standard rigidly. Under such circumstances the Loyalty Review Board becomes little more than a kangaroo court in which no person under heavy political fire has a chance to win vindication. We hope that Mr. Service carries out his announced plan to appeal the decision to the courts and that the ultimate result will be a judgment denouncing and outlawing the employee-loyalty program as lacking all the elements of fairness and due process.

✶

FOR ONCE *THE NATION* FINDS ITSELF IN agreement with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. In a letter to Senator Guy Gillette, McCarthy has demanded certain information of the Senate Elections Committee now investigating the charges on the basis of which Senator Benton has demanded his ouster from the Senate. For example, he wants to know the number of persons employed by the committee, their backgrounds and salaries, how many are working on his case, and whether they have been instructed to limit their inquiries to matters involving elections. Senator McCarthy, we believe, is entitled to this information. Of recent years Congressional committees have been known to employ consultants and investigators of dubious antecedents. Any person or organization being investigated should have the right to know the names of those conducting the inquiry, if only to guard against personal or political malice. The public, acting as jury, should be given the background of witnesses, experts, and investigators and the amounts such persons are paid. Senator McCarthy is on solid ground, too, when he insists that the investigators should confine themselves to the precise matters under inquiry. McCarthy's own methods of investigation and the questionable persons he has employed should not be permitted to obscure the importance of the issue he has raised. We have confidence that Senator Gillette and his colleagues will conduct a fair inquiry into the

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charges made by Senator Benton; but there is every reason why the Senator from Wisconsin should be given the information he has demanded.

*

"THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM" would have been a fitting title for two speeches delivered at the opening session of the first International Conference of Manufacturers, which convened in New York on December 3. Paul G. Hoffman, former Economic Cooperation Administrator, and Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, both advised the visiting European industrialists to modify Old World capitalism in favor of the American brand. In the last forty years, Mr. Wilson pointed out, the real income of workers in American manufacturing plants has increased an average of 2½ per cent a year. But he failed to mention that part of this truly significant improvement was attained through the organization and militant effort of American workers and despite the resistance of American capitalists. "It is important," Mr. Wilson added, "that the workmen in all our countries recognize that they will share in increased productivity when it is achieved." The workers of all countries, however, may not be easily convinced of this, for the Marshall Plan, whatever the intentions of its sponsors, has been carried out in such a way that industry's increased profits have not been accompanied by improvement in the workers' comparable position. According to Mr. Wilson himself, more than 75 per cent of all peoples have little choice between "working themselves to death or starving to death."

*

HOFFMAN TOLD THE VISITING EUROPEAN industrialists that "while you were going one way, toward the limitation of competition, we were going the other way, keeping it free, sharp, and painful." He conceded, of course, that there were a few backsliders among American capitalists, but "any attempt on our part to avoid competition by entering into arrangements with our competitors puts us in danger of going to jail. . . . The American anti-trust laws have been made sharper and tougher, and our government maintains a large staff of vigilant experts to see that they are lived up to and to plug up any leaks that might develop." If unrestricted free competition has brought the grand results Messrs. Hoffman and Wilson describe, why are so many "vigilant experts" needed to police American industry?

*

GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RETURNING TO HIS Hunter College presidency after serving as United States Commissioner for Bavaria, is the latest of our officials to declare that the signs of a revival of Nazism in Germany are exaggerated by alarmists here and abroad. He adds, however, "I am afraid that if such a movement got

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started it would not provoke the energetic resistance to it that would be necessary." On whether Germany is a threat to world peace he says, "It would take a long time for Germany ever to develop into a position where she could be a threat to anyone." Despite these reassurances, a recent press item is disturbing. An A. P. dispatch from Frankfurt dated November 21 described the new "snappy dress uniform" worn by more than 30,000 Germans serving in Labor Service units attached to United States forces. "Blue-gray in color, the uniform is similar in pattern to that of the United States soldiers, including an Eisenhower-type jacket, but the Germans will wear a ski-trooper cap instead of the garrison cap of United States servicemen." One wonders whether this distinction is sufficient to allay uneasiness over the last sentence of the dispatch: "Although they are officially described as civilian employees of the United States army, the Labor Service units are organized along military lines under former German army officers."

*

THIS ITEM FOLLOWS ON THE HEELS OF ONE from Tokyo which reports that the 75,000-man Japanese National Police Force—which is equipped with small arms, machine guns, mortars, and bazookas—will receive anti-aircraft guns, artillery, and tanks. This "hidden" army may be doubled in the near future. At present expansion is carried on by the use of the "reserve" rotary system which during the Weimar Republic built the cadres for Hitler's army. Four hundred ex-army and navy officers recently completed training under the program, and another four hundred are now in training. The only difference between the situation in West Germany and Japan today and Germany during the 1920's is that remilitarization is being encouraged by the Allies.

*

PARTS OF THE BELGIAN CONGO SUPPLEMENT to the Paris edition of the New York *Herald Tribune* of November 23 are certainly well suited to Soviet propaganda. There is, for example, the frank admission in the lead article that there are only 464 white doctors in the Congo, one for each 40,000 inhabitants. Education is clearly designed to make the Congo natives good laborers and artisans. The government "feels that a great mass taught the three R's and the fundamentals of hygiene is better than a handful of black graduates of Liège University." Yet there are 2,000 black African students in English, Canadian, and American universities and a comparable number from the French overseas territories in French universities. The reason for the Belgian policy of not training a single black Congolese in any Belgian university has been made clear by Ivan de Thibault, acting governor-general of the Belgian Congo. The Belgian government, he writes, believes that "the practice leads to discontent due to the inability of even the best-educated native to comprehend the European system. . . . We think it is very dangerous to send the Congo native to Europe."

*

BUT THE MOST AMAZING ARTICLE IN THE supplement appears under the heading: "Race Segregation is Strict; Blacks Seem Not to Resent It." The opening paragraph declares that strict and complete segregation is "not a problem" in the Congo, for no one, least of all the blacks, has any "idea that there could possibly be any other arrangement." Native trade unions, the article continues, "are strictly regulated and are led by whites." There are no "native leaders" apart from the few who have been taken into the government in advisory or minor administrative posts. There are no native-language daily newspapers. The movies that the natives are allowed to see are "carefully selected." Colored American missionaries are no longer tolerated. A few natives have been appointed to the governor's administrative council and in perhaps twenty or thirty years, the vote may be given to whites and to natives who possess certain educational qualifications. "A representative government of blacks and whites will be the first result, with, of course, much stronger white representation than would be indicated by the relative numbers. A true democracy with universal suffrage is in the far future." Meanwhile Belgium is making sure that the Congo's wealth is supporting the power that exploits it. The government has projected a ten-year plan for an investment of a billion dollars "to speed up the expansion of a country whose wealth has only been scratched to date." A franker document has not come our way in some time.

"Open Corruption Openly Arrived At"

JOSEPH ALSOP has recently written three pungent columns on the source and scope of political corruption. Far from suggesting that revelations are almost complete, he indicates that after the investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau, Congress will turn to the Office of Alien Property. There, if they "find the guts to stop scratching for peanuts and to begin digging for the big potatoes," we shall find some really important scandals.

Rejecting the notion that there has been a moral collapse in the United States, Alsop believes that this contemporary corruption results "from certain vital changes in the relationship between business and politics." He notes the tremendously increased cost of election campaigns and agrees with Senator William Benton that this

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is "the area of greatest ethical discomfort in American public life." Where once Truman H. Newberry was expelled from the Senate for spending $200,000 to get himself elected, in 1950 two Senators are each reported to have spent more than $2,000,000 for campaign expenses. The result is that "business men and corporations pay at least 85 per cent of the . . . political bills, mostly under the table." For "business men will now pay almost anything to ease their dealings with the government."

However, this is no new development in American politics. Government and parties have always become corrupt in almost direct ratio to the resources available for distribution to deserving business men. In an earlier period government could allocate land, timber and mineral resources, franchises and charters. Now there are billions in defense contracts, legislation to be written in the private interest of oil and natural gas promoters, and tax concessions to be extorted.

Because politics is "enormously important" to them, Alsop implies that business men are hardly to be blamed for making the purchase. After all they buy "political influence that may be worth many millions for sums which they and their corporations hardly feel." Furthermore, much of the cost is passed on to the citizen as business expense and reflected in higher prices. Thus the public pays for the corruption of its servants. What is the product of this corruption? "Rows of Senators," writes Alsop, "whose votes are controlled when the chips are down by the banks, the local utilities, the mining and mineral interests, and other big business groupings." This "business is business" approach results in such complete acceptance of the commercial ethic that the United States Senate sees nothing extraordinary in Lustron Corporation's contribution of $10,000 to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Washington is not alone in this politics for profit. According to Mr. Alsop, an unpublished survey showed that in 1948, "more than half the state governments were dominated in this manner by various large business interests."

One may certainly agree with Mr. Alsop that moral prating is folly "when immoral behavior is the result of compulsion." However, his suggested cures seem to stop short of fundamental reform.

There is no doubt that American democracy must face up to the problem of election costs. Until we are prepared to demand public financing with enforceable laws against corrupt practices, politics will continue to be dominated by the highest bidder.

Similarly there is no doubt that government service must be made a respected profession. In fact, tremendous strides toward this end have been made. But so long as our society stresses self-aggrandizement as the primary goal, there is no reason why a bright young man should not look upon work in the Internal Revenue Bureau, for example, as " a way station en route to a corporate position or a Washington law firm." And so long as government service is looked upon as a stepping-stone to wealth and power, it will be difficult to uphold high standards of performance in government.

Finally, one finds it difficult to accept Mr. Alsop's picture of business men "treating the government like a huge, terrifying, hostile power." Rather it appears that they look upon it as providing "the Great Barbecue." Therefore, to have corporations, as Mr. Alsop suggests, assign executives to Washington "to study their problems with the government as they might study a plant lay-out or a sales territory" might eliminate the fees of influence brokers and save the lives of a few mink, but it would scarcely lessen the corruption of public officials.

On the other hand, it does not follow that corruption is simply the price a democracy must pay for the freedom to better their lot which it allows to individuals. The British example challenges this cynical dogma. And our own national experience has shown, as during the New Deal, that the functions and the budget of the federal government may be enormously expanded without some new plunderbund taking over. Unlike Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Truman does not understand the importance of setting a proper "tone" for his Administration. This is strikingly apparent, for example, in his appointment of Judge Thomas F. Murphy to direct an inquiry into corruption. Judge Murphy did a fair clean-up job as Police Commissioner of New York, but he served as prosecutor under Attorneys General Clark and McGrath, and he could hardly have been appointed to the federal bench without the approval and support of the latter. That Mr. Truman should put him in charge of an investigation which must probe directly into the conduct of his former superiors is the best illustration of the President's failure to understand the moral basis of leadership in a democracy.

After the Deadlock

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, December 12

THE inevitable happened. The talks on disarmament which the four great powers had been holding behind closed doors ended in a deadlock. Equally vain have been the last feeble attempts of various delegates to accomplish through private conversations something, anything, which could be chalked up as progress before the Assembly adjourns for the Christmas vacation. Delegates who want a cheerful holiday will try to think that the time has not all been wasted, that the talks have thrown some light on the problem. But that is not enough in the present international situation. I say that what happened was inevitable because if East and West

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had really sought a reconciliation, they would not have presented grandiose rearmament plans which had not the slightest chance of acceptance but would have discussed privately the more precise issues on which they might hope to reach a compromise.

Instead of looking for possible areas of agreement, Russia and the United States have engaged in a clear trial of strength over the election of the third new member to the Security Council. The persistent efforts of the American delegation to have Greece chosen over Byelorussia, the pressure exerted on the Latin Americans when even France and Great Britain were voting for Byelorussia, indicated that the Americans were not prepared to yield ground even on a relatively minor issue. The Russians have become correspondingly intransigent. No progress has been registered since President Auriol of France, in his opening address, made his futile appeal for "human contact." And if the situation is no better after six weeks of effort, that means it has got worse.

The Russians were of course gratified that in the contest for a place on the Security Council America's "automatic majority" was broken. The number of ballots cast for Byelorussia increased with each vote taken to an impressive, and revealing, total. This may be changed in the final balloting, but even if the revolt succeeds, it does not guarantee a different line-up on other major issues, particularly on the capital question of German rearmament. The time has not come when any important Western nation will oppose the United States if it says, "Are you with us or against us?"

FOR the United States the basic difficulty is that the policy of developing "positions of strength" cannot be harmonized with the policy of "negotiation." In the first place, it is hard to say exactly what a satisfactory position of strength is. If the decision is left to the military, no position will ever be considered sufficiently strong. If the statesmen are to decide, the speeches of President Truman and Secretary Acheson ought to give the answer, but actually they throw little light on the subject. It is clear, however, that in the official American view these positions of strength have not yet been attained. So why, at this stage, should the United States take an interest in negotiation?

A few months ago the Russians showed a disposition to make concessions, but now their attitude has stiffened. They consider Herr Grotewohl's offer of unification and free elections a hint of their willingness to give up East Germany in return for the abandonment of rearmament in West Germany. Since they have accomplished nothing by previous moves, they doubtless think they might better save their good cards until the situation becomes so intolerable for all people, including the Americans, and war seems so imminent, that concessions will bring results.

Of course the Russians are influenced by other considerations too. They see that poverty and unrest in Western Europe are being increased by what Europeans call the policy of "tearing down our strong outer economic wall, built by Marshall Plan aid, in order to erect an inner defense wall"—which is not being done very efficiently either. And while there was never before so much talk of European unity, they see that Europe was never so disunited. The Russians are also probably counting on the effect of inflation in the United States, unaware of how much they are influenced by wishful thinking. They may even believe that they can win out with a policy of "wait and see," dangerous as that is. In my opinion, however, their behavior is explained principally by their conviction that for the present the Americans are in no mood to negotiate.

Whatever impels the two powers to act as they do, the really disturbing possibility is that the Assembly will dissolve in February without having brought a reconciliation any nearer. The interval between this Assembly and the next will be a very dangerous vacuum if there is no Big Four conference or other serious diplomatic initiative.

People may say that the same thing has happened before. But this time a long period devoid of any constructive action is a more than usually alarming prospect because of the planned rearmament of Germany, which introduces a new explosive element. It is false comfort to think that the strength of German feeling against rearmament makes it unlikely in the near future. Schumacher's Socialists, the Protestant church, the majority of the people may oppose it, but they cannot prevent it. With the aid of the United States all the political obstacles can be overcome. The presence of millions of refugees in West Germany and the possibility of increased unemployment will enable the government to recruit an army, and more quickly than some people think possible.

Unfortunately the new German army will be of the worst conceivable type. It will be an army commanded largely by Nazis, inspired with the Nazi spirit of aggression and revenge. In other countries of the Atlantic coalition military strength might be considered a means of preserving peace (personally I cannot agree). But the rearmament of Germany can easily bring war. It will enable the Germans to plan to regain by force of arms the provinces now in Poland's possession and to revive the idea of a Greater Germany. The very fact that German rearmament is a major factor in Atlantic defense strategy so increases the tension between East and West as to render a rapprochement almost impossible.

In the period between the current Assembly and the next, these developments will be a constant threat. To deal with them the first requirement is the courage to look the facts in the face.

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Mr. Churchill Packs His Bag

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, December 13

AS THE Prime Minister prepares for his fateful trip to Washington, press and public are speculating about what proposal he will take with him. No one doubts that he will wrap up his demand for more American aid in some flamboyant covering, and the conviction is growing that he will propose the creation of a semi-federal Atlantic Union built around an Anglo-American core. This suggestion would not prevent later personal negotiations with Stalin. As the *Economist* put it, Mr. Churchill's route to Moscow must be "via Washington." In fact his approach to the Russians will be more assured if he feels he has the solid backing of the United States.

There is little direct proof that Churchill will urge an Atlantic federation in Washington, but indications point that way. Australian Foreign Minister Richard Casey, a close friend and long-time political associate, said he "would place high emphasis" on the coming Churchill-Truman talks, pointing out that Britain and the United States are the "hard core" of the democratic world. Viscount Halifax, also an old Churchill intimate, has recently proposed an enduring Anglo-American alliance.

People have not forgotten other Churchill proposals about common sovereignty. In June, 1940, he offered France, staggering toward defeat, "an indissoluble union" with Britain. And until he abandoned it last month, he was one of the chief advocates of the "European movement" and the Council of Europe. His abrupt change of front both surprised and dismayed the European representatives at Strasbourg. They had counted upon his warm support. "To members of the Consultative Assembly the name Churchill means so much that it is difficult to convey the impression even in England," wrote the Manchester *Guardian's* correspondent. "Here was the man who made the Hague Congress, who created the European movement, and who conceived the idea of the European army. At long last he had become Prime Minister again." But Sir Maxwell Fyfe, Churchill's Home Secretary and special envoy, insisted that the British government could not surrender sovereign power to a federal body in Europe because it had "interests and responsibilities" in the Commonwealth and North America as well as in Europe.

The working out of a bigger scheme, closer to Britain's strategic and economic needs, would help explain this aloofness toward the Continent. What is the point of federating with an equally impoverished competitor when you have hopes of combining with the world's greatest power while retaining essential links with the Commonwealth?

The editors of the *Economist*, which frequently articulates conservative thinking, clearly believe Mr. Churchill must soon restate "his views on Western unity" if he is to avoid "disorder and disillusionment" arising from Britain's rejection of European union. The *Economist* agrees that Britain should not federate with Continental Europe: "Britain's position compels it to seek not new responsibilities but new strength. It is, therefore, strongly attracted by the United States. . . ." It favors the "bigger and looser alternatives" offered by the further "development of the North Atlantic Treaty," whose "purpose . . . is to multiply links across the Atlantic. . . ." The political issue for Britain is to discover how such relations "are to be organized on a permanent and efficient basis."

Probably more than at any other time in recent history the United States is in a mood to welcome a proposal of this sort. Ever since 1949, when Paul Hoffman, then Marshall-aid administrator, demanded the creation of a "single market" in Western Europe, we have seen mounting evidences of American irritation over the inefficiencies and competing claims of the weak European countries. The Mutual Security Act of 1951 explicitly advocates "the economic unification and political federation of Europe." At Strasbourg, American Senators and Representatives delivered homilies to the Europeans on how they should imitate the original American colonies and federate. And on November 23 thirty-three leading citizens of the United States, including General Marshall, published an open letter demanding an Atlantic federation which would bind together the North American and West European states.

The advantages of such a federation to the British have been spelled out by a German-born British journalist, Sebastian Haffner, who writes in the influential Sunday *Observer*. During a long stay in Washington as correspondent of the *Observer* he developed excellent connections with the planning people in the State Department. Haffner insists that "there is no future for Britain outside a permanent association at least with America. Economically, the beginnings of rearmament have produced a new British balance-of-payments crisis which can be overcome only with renewed American aid. This shows that Britain cannot hope to discharge its commitments as

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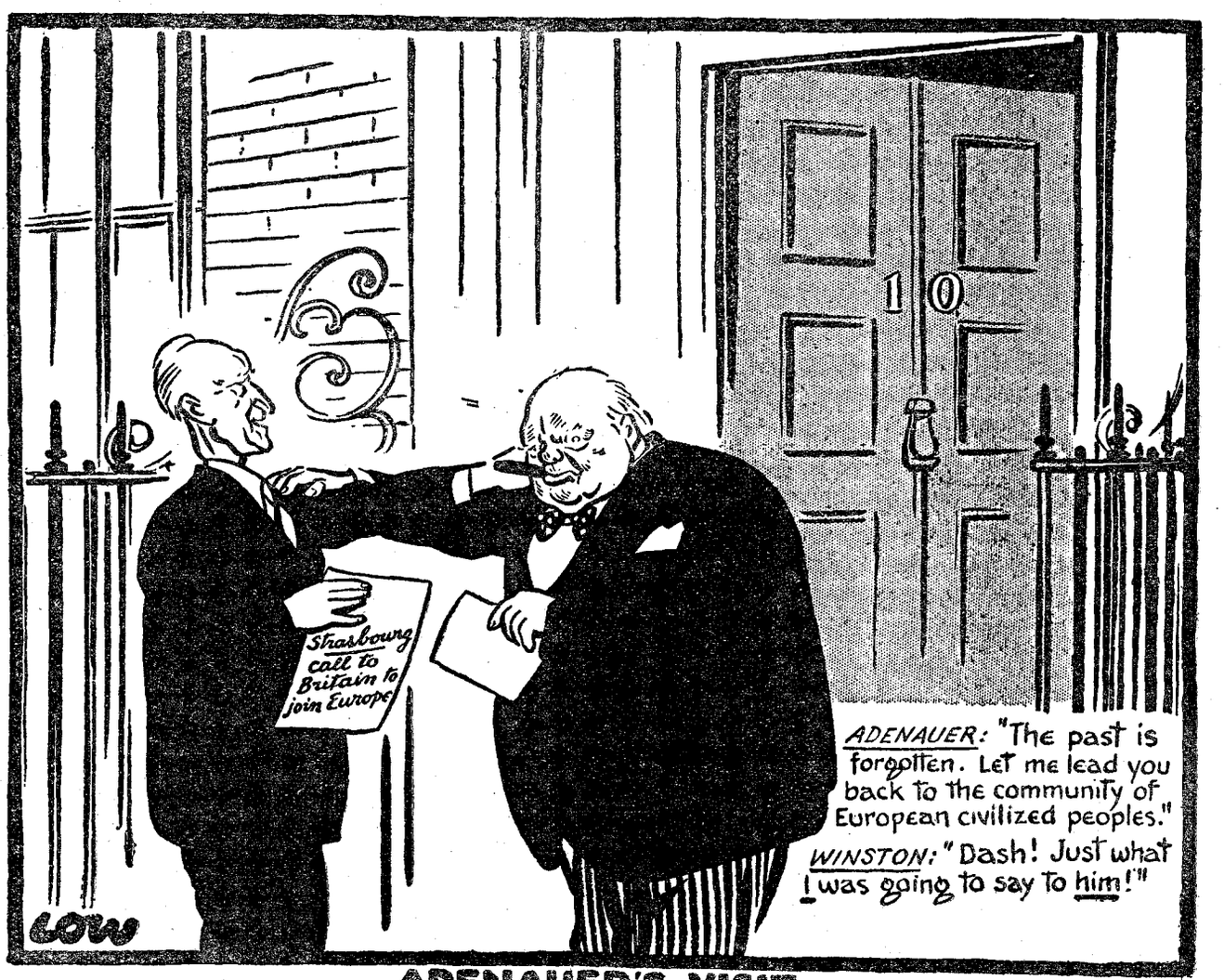
a great power without such continued aid; and it cannot abandon these commitments and contract to small-nation status without forcing half its population to emigrate or starve. Diplomatically, the Persian débâcle has proved that Britain can no longer, even in her traditional zones of influence, successfully pursue a foreign policy of her own in disagreement or conflict with American policy . . . surely it is preferable for her to merge with America in one economic and diplomatic union, in whose policies she has a say and to whose assets she still has a respectable contribution to make, than to remain in the position of a perpetual client and pensioner. She might still prefer to enter into such a union with America alone, instead of with all her Atlantic allies. But America would probably be interested only in the wider union."

It must be realized that these suggestions arise from the clear crisis in Western Europe over the economic burden of rearmament. Britain is running in the red at the rate of about £800,000,000 a year, and its situation is duplicated in France and other West European countries. Their imperfect economic recovery from the war and the loss of colonies has been complicated by the burden of rearmament and inflation. Added to this has been irritation with the United States, part of it due to inevitable resentment at the subordinate position of once proud Europe, part to crude American tactics. Many Western Europeans have been willing to swallow their nationalistic pride out of dread of a Soviet attack, which became general after the outbreak of the Korean war, and hope of adequate American aid. But current Soviet tactics have lulled their fears. The present period is a dividing line. Soon Western Europe—Britain included—will have to decide whether it will federate further under American influence or jettison the whole array of European and Atlantic organizations. The revolt by De Gaulle against the French becoming "America's subjects" is symptomatic.

A Churchill proposal for an Atlantic Union would be a further expression of dissatisfaction with Britain's present precarious position—the reverse side of the De Gaulle coin. It should not be forgotten that Churchill is, in reality, as impassioned a nationalist as De Gaulle. He can make a brilliant rhetorical offer to yield a measure of sovereignty if he believes it will further Britain's interest. But he will withdraw into a hard nationalist shell the moment he feels that Britain's interest is not being served. His curt retreat from Strasbourg should warn Washington.


10
Strasbourg call to Britain to join Europe
ADENAUER: "The past is forgotten. Let me lead you back to the community of European civilized peoples."
WINSTON: "Dash! Just what I was going to say to him!"
LOW

ADENAUER'S VISIT

Courtesy London *Daily Herald*

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The Swiss Try a Communist

BY ERIC JOSEPHSON

Lausanne, December 10

WHERE does Switzerland stand in the cold war and in the plans for rearming Western Europe? The sympathies of the Swiss government are no secret, though officials continue to assert the "traditional neutrality" of the country. What the Western military strategists have in mind for Switzerland in case of war has not been disclosed; but General de Lattre de Tassigny told the Swiss a year ago, "Your redoubt is the greatest fortress we have in Europe," evoking the image of Allied armies holding out in the Alps against the Russians. If some Swiss are made nervous by such a remark, they must also worry over the facts that 95 per cent of Swiss foreign trade is with countries in the West and that nearly 40 per cent of the national budget is devoted to military expenditures.

The problems of Switzerland's adjustment to the American new order in Western Europe and of its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union during the present crisis have been exposed by a political trial that took place in the supreme court in Lausanne during the last week in November. Pierre Nicole, a Communist journalist from Geneva, wrote a series of articles a year ago, some of which appeared in Eastern European newspapers, charging that the Swiss government was abandoning the principle of neutrality and preparing to associate itself with American aggression against the Soviet Union. In one article he referred to

> . . . the absolutely incontestable fact that our present rulers are abandoning not only political and economic "neutrality" but even military "neutrality" in order to join . . . the Yankee instigators of war. . . .

In others he wrote:

> Our rulers are plotting to betray our people and to associate our country with the anti-Soviet war that the American imperialists are preparing. . . .
>
> Our present rulers are not interested in assuring the future of our people, but only in protecting the interests of "our" . . . financial oligarchies, which, they say, depend today on the success of the enterprises of Wall Street imperialists. . . .
>
> All these facts show the gravity of the situation. Our people must become conscious of this and react against those who are indeed "about to sell our country for profits" as Lenin had already foreseen in 1916.

After the appearance of his articles, Nicole was brought to trial by the government, accused of "slandering and defaming" its ministers, "slurring and endangering the independence" of the Swiss Confederation by provoking foreign intervention in its affairs, and finally of "provoking foreign undertakings and intrigues" against Swiss security. At the two-day trial, in response to the interrogation of the presiding judge, Nicole tried to justify his original accusations. Switzerland, he said, had joined the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, an institution obstensibly autonomous and supposed to improve economic conditions in Europe but in reality the executive organ of the Marshall Plan and therefore dealing with military problems. Why, Nicole asked, had the government kept secret recent economic agreements with the United States? Was it because Switzerland had been forced by the threat of a reduction in American trade to reduce its exports to the East by two-thirds and had been requested to prohibit the reexportation of strategic materials coming from the West, as the New York *Times* reported?

What did the presence of Western generals in Switzerland mean? Did not General Spaatz visit the country in order to arrange for the exchange of Swiss and American aviators? Why did Field Marshal Montgomery, who is known to have held conversations with members of the government, make such "curiously frequent" trips to Switzerland? Was it not significant that Swiss officers attended an American army school and that Swiss weapons will be standardized on American models? Had not the head of the Swiss military department announced that the Swiss army would cooperate with foreign troops in the event of war? Finally, did not the Davis case prove that the Americans had organized espionage in Switzerland? (An American, Davis, had been expelled from the country in October, after a trial, on the ground that he had spied for Senator McCarthy, for the United States consul in Geneva, and for the United States embassy in Paris, gathering information on John Carter Vincent and Swiss and American "Communists." Four-fifths of Davis's indictment dealt with espionage he performed for United States diplomatic officials in Europe, a fact not reported in the press.)

The court allowed the defense only six witnesses, five being Communists who repeated or elaborated the remarks of Nicole. Why, they asked, were certain leftists forbidden to speak, but not reactionaries? Why was *Collier's* admitted to Switzerland but not "peaceful Soviet reviews"? Did not the government ban a meeting

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of the World Council of Peace which was to have been held in Geneva? Why was a Committee of Inquiry back from North Korea prevented from delivering its report? A French general was not allowed to speak about the U. S. S. R., while the German General Speidel spoke in Lausanne on military affairs, and the American "spy-general" Donovan made mysterious visits. The sixth witness, however, the military expert of a conservative Geneva newspaper, was produced to comment on the role of the Swiss "redoubt" in the speculations of European general staffs. The impression the defense tried to give was that the Alps are of greater strategic interest to Americans than to Russians.

THE prosecutor answered directly the claim that Swiss neutrality was being abandoned. He admitted that the government had given in to American demands that trade with the East be reduced. Nevertheless, he said, in spite of its historical and geographical orientation toward the West, Switzerland would remain neutral. Its joining of the O. E. E. C. and the European Payments Union did not contradict the Swiss statute of perpetual neutrality. These two organizations, unlike the Atlantic Pact, from which Switzerland had remained aloof, were strictly economic in character. Besides, through the so-called "Swiss clause" in the O. E. E. C. agreement, the government reserved the right not to participate in any decision of which it disapproved. As for the exchange of officers, it was true that Swiss officers had gone to the United States and that American officers had been received here, but invitations for similar exchanges forwarded to the Russians were declined.

The Communists, the prosecutor said, set themselves up as the virtuous defenders of neutrality, but there was a time, not long ago, when they wanted Switzerland to abandon its traditional policy and enter the U. N. In a period of international tension, with considerable danger of war, Nicole had embarrassed the Swiss government by questioning its neutrality; this could afford an opportunity for intrigue and intervention by foreign powers, for increased Russian pressure, and for undermining the people's confidence in their government.

Nicole's lawyer, who is not a Communist, opened by submitting the celebrated issue of *Collier's* on World War III as evidence of America's designs, centered his defense on the right to express deviant opinions, and claimed that the proceedings had been turned into a "trial of opinion." Even violent views should be heard. Did not freedom of opinion exist in Switzerland? Was it contrary to the laws of a democratic regime to disapprove of the policy of the government and to oppose it? Nicole was violent in his attitudes and a frank revolutionist, but if he exaggerated or committed some errors in his articles, this was the result of the difficulties met by Swiss journalists in obtaining news. Owing to the excessive discretion of officials domestic news sometimes only reached the country through the foreign press.

Nicole himself made a brief final statement in which he expressed his willingness to accept the consequences of his actions as a Communist, denied nothing, and reaffirmed his conviction that the Swiss government showed more sympathy for the United States than for the Soviet Union. Two days later the presiding judge sentenced Nicole to fifteen months' imprisonment, and in the course of pronouncing judgment said:

> The accusations [of Nicole] imply . . . that the government, while proclaiming a policy of neutrality, plots secretly a policy of war preparation, allied with one group of powers against another, and these accusations . . . in the present state of tension in international relations endanger Swiss independence by giving a false image of our country's foreign policy and our desire for independence and peace with all foreign countries. The accusations tend also . . . to shake the confidence of the Swiss people in the honesty and loyalty of the policy proclaimed by its government and thus also constitute a danger to the country. Nicole cannot be ignorant of the falseness of his accusations. . . .

THE speed, simplicity, and dignity of Nicole's trial contrast sharply with some recent American proceedings. A large audience in the courtroom was attentive but quiet. No demonstrations in support of Nicole were organized in the vicinity of the courthouse. Most of the press, conservative and highly sympathetic to United States policy, reported the trial with restraint. So far, nobody outside the Communist Party has appeared to defend Nicole's rights. Elsewhere in Europe, aside from Radio Moscow and the left-wing newspapers, the trial has aroused comparatively little interest.

If the apathy shown by the Swiss themselves toward the Nicole case seems curious, it should be noted that the Communist Party is not regarded as a serious security threat. Banned during the greater part of World War II, the Communists today have fewer than 40,000 members, and the trial was not interpreted as part of a campaign by the government against the party. Ironically, the Communist Party in the United States is supposed to have approximately the same number of dues-paying members. In a sense, therefore, the trial derived its chief interest from its focusing of attention on the problem of Swiss neutrality.

Switzerland's experiment with "differential" neutrality as a conditional member of the League of Nations ended in 1935 when the country refused to participate in sanctions requested by the League against Italy, on the ground that such action would violate its neutrality. Subsequently, during World War II and the organization of the U. N., the Swiss reverted to their earlier policy of "absolute" neutrality. Today, as the statements of defense and prosecution in the Nicole trial made clear, Switzer-

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land is under strong pressure from East and West. While it probably does not intend to abandon its heavily armed neutrality even if war comes, it is certainly closer in interest and sympathy to the United States than to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Swiss have shown themselves masters at the game of bargaining with great powers in a time of crisis and hanging on until the storm blows over. They may feel that they can once more calculate successfully their chances of survival.

Neutral, but not neutralist, Switzerland—with perhaps some misgivings—is "on our side." But as it has done many times before, it will probably make strenuous efforts to keep out of a war. The Swiss like to recall that their army was prepared to fight against either German or Allied invasion during the last war. There was a time when the statesmen of Europe considered Swiss neutrality a distinct asset to Continental stability and order. Has this been forgotten?

Miami: Anteroom to Fascism

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Miami, Florida, December 14

THE terror that has engulfed this resort city since the succession of dynamite blasts designed to drive Negro residents from their homes and Jews from their places of worship is at least as intense as that caused by the Nazis' first forays from the beer cellars of Munich. Anti-Negro and anti-Jewish violence in Miami is not new. The local Klaverns have long used terror to keep Negroes inside the ghettoes assigned to them, and their program for exploiting any minority has included anti-Semitism. At a "klavalkade" at Live Oak, Florida, the Miami Klan distributed anti-Semitic leaflets printed by Gerald L. K. Smith and kept shouting: "You folks are lucky; we're from Miami where we have both niggers and kikes to contend with!" But the racial violence now rife is worse than anything Miami has known in the past. More than a quarter-million dollars' damage has been done to Negro and Jewish buildings by the last half-dozen blasts alone, and the absence of human casualties is largely due to chance.

The campaign began on September 22 when two bundles of dynamite weighing 100 pounds each made a total loss of an unoccupied sixteen-unit building at the Carver Village housing project for Negroes. Walls were cracked and windows shattered for fifty blocks around. One bundle of dynamite, eighty sticks, failed to explode, but no fingerprints could be found. Instead of questioning Klansmen, Police Chief Walter Headley released a statement charging that investigation of the bombing "pointed strongly to the conclusion that it was part of a Communist plot to incite racial hatred." Pressed for further facts, Chief Headley explained: "We cannot go into details at this time." The local press ran scare headlines: "New Carver Village Explosion Linked to Reds."

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Several months earlier Carver Village, containing 216 dwelling units, had been set aside for Negro occupation from the extensive Knight Manor project previously occupied by whites only. Though Carver Village fronts on a "Negro neighborhood," white opposition to its use by Negroes mounted. Traditionally, such opposition in Miami has been expressed by "property owners' associations" and other civic organizations, including the KKK, through protest meetings and demands upon city officials for remedial action. In the agitation over the Pinewood project a few years ago, the Klan burned several dwellings, touched off fiery crosses on the project boundaries, and proclaimed through loudspeakers: "When the law fails you, call on us!"

In the case of Carver Village, the city commission had voted, four to one, a week before the big blast of September 22, to "condemn" the property "for municipal use other than public housing." An injunction was filed to prevent the city from taking such action and a hearing scheduled for December 17. (The city attorney has now obtained a postponement, having discovered the case is "more complicated" than he first thought.) Not content with the city's solution, fifty white citizens led by Ira D. Hawthorne immediately banded together as the Dade County Property Owners' Association, and obtained a charter from the state of Florida as a "benevolent, nonprofit" (tax-exempt) organization. The association, which in the weeks before the blast claimed an increase of 200 members, took the position that the city should invoke "emergency police powers" to evict all Negroes from Carver Village, without waiting for a court ruling on the condemnation proceedings.

At a meeting of the group the day after the blast Hawthorne said, "We didn't want what has happened to happen, and we don't want it to happen any more. . . . The city commission doesn't realize how high the tension is out here. I'm afraid there is going to be bloodshed both ways if this thing keeps up." He went

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on to report that hardware stores in the vicinity were doing a rush business selling arms and ammunition to whites. The next day, in conjunction with the Edison Center Civic Association, the group formally renewed its demand that the Negroes be evicted "for their protection, and ours too."

THE tension continued for over two months, and then the wife of Mayor Chelsie Senerchia began to receive anonymous telephone threats to "get the niggers out of Carver Village or we'll blast them out." Sure enough, on the morning of November 30 Carver was again rocked by a blast in an unoccupied eight-unit structure. Two of the three bundles of dynamite planted failed to explode, but damages exceeded $22,000. A large group of Negroes, some of them residents of Carver and some of them armed, gathered at the scene. Police disarmed Charles H. Gray, thirty-two, who said he was carrying a pistol "to protect my wife and children," and an unidentified man who said he was carrying a shotgun "to protect my people." Both men were taken into custody and placed in the back of a squad car, but about five hundred Negroes surrounded the car and released the prisoners while the police radioed frantically for assistance. Virtually every squad car in Greater Miami and Dade County responded with sirens screaming, but there were no further attempts to arrest Negroes that night.

Two days later, Sunday, December 2, at four in the morning, another blast rocked Carver, followed at half-hour intervals by blasts at the Hebrew School and Congregation and in a Jewish residential area. In a previous attack on the Jewish Center, on October 15, a stick of dynamite hurled at the door had failed to explode. One week before that, dynamite had been hurled at the Coral Gables Jewish Center, but the fuse was knocked out as it struck a tree; a watchman on duty all night and a police car which passed every twenty minutes reported they had seen nothing.

After the three blasts of December 2 the police arrested two Negro "suspects," grilled them for three hours under a lie detector, and kept them in jail for two days while their alibis were checked. In marked contrast to police and press handling of these Negroes was the treatment accorded several white suspects, whose names have never been made public.

A committee of Jewish leaders called on Assistant Police Chief J. A. Youell on December 3 to demand adequate protection for their centers. "Parents are afraid to send their children to school," Rabbi Simon April reported. "With the man-power situation what it is, we just can't make night watchmen out of our officers," Youell replied. He said the best he could do was to have prowl cars patrol Jewish centers at twenty-minute intervals. Sheriff J. B. Henderson offered to deputize "anybody who wished to volunteer" for guard duty. Needless to say, no Negro deputies have been sworn. But the Jewish War Veterans have installed floodlights and arranged for round-the-clock sentries. State Attorney General Richard W. Ervin has suggested that Sheriff Henderson ask Governor Fuller Warren to alert the National Guard as a precaution against anti-Negro rioting, but no such action has been taken.

The FBI, as is its custom in civil-rights cases, stubbornly refused to look into the terror wave until December 7, when Attorney General J. Howard McGrath instructed the local G-men to "investigate to see whether they can investigate." It has been suggested that the FBI might enter the picture out of concern for a mailbox destroyed in one of the explosions.

Not the least of the factors giving aid and comfort to the terrorists is the knowledge that in a bombing wave which hit Miami last spring five white youths were arrested and, despite their confessions, promptly released, only one being placed on probation. There is also the police sanction given the Klan. Last spring there was no interference when a series of fiery K's were exhibited, fiery crosses being prohibited by state law. When the Klan asked for a permit to parade, Chief Headley not only obliged but offered to provide a police motor-cycle escort. After vigorous public protest the escort was withdrawn, though Headley continued to argue that the Klan was "an American law-abiding organization chartered by the state of Florida."

Violence is made still easier by the fact that dynamite is as readily obtainable in Miami as a glass of water. All you have to do to purchase a stick or a carload is stop in at the nearest fire station for a permit. Moreover, most of the dynamite plants are located outside the city limits, and there are no county or state regulations whatever. Fire Chief Paul Kline says he is going to ask for stricter city laws, and adds, "I hope and pray the 1953 [*sic*] legislature goes along."

The encouraging aspects of the situation are not numerous. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has set up a Coordinating Committee Against Bombing, and the Rabbinical Association has invited the Council of Churches and the Ministerial Alliance to join it in sponsoring a mass protest meeting against bombing. Most promising is the size of the reward offered for the conviction of the terrorists—$8,900. There may be takers yet. Meanwhile the city's claim to being the "anteroom to heaven" gains in ominous portent.

Coming directly in the wake of the killing of a handcuffed Negro prisoner by a Florida sheriff (described in *The Nation* of November 24 under the title Florida: Murder Without Indictment), the violence in Miami means that the lunatic fringe of native fascism now thinks it has the green light.

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"If Your Agent Doesn't Call"

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

THE largest white-collar strike in the history of organized labor began in New York at midnight on December 1. Within a few hours it had become nationwide, with picket lines appearing in thirty-two states. An estimated 15,500 workers—members of the Insurance Agents' International Union (A. F. of L.)—had gone on strike against their employer, the Prudential Life Insurance Company, in the first national strike against a major life-insurance company.

The union and the company agree that the primary issue is compensation. For more than twenty-five years the base pay of a Prudential agent's salary has remained unchanged. The union wants the guaranteed minimum —$35 a week—raised to $55. In addition, it seeks adequate grievance machinery, job-security clauses (Prudential agents have never had that protection), a union shop (3,000 "free riders" are on Prudential's pay roll), and an expense allowance for an automobile ("Try to get along without a car," said a picket in front of the Empire State Building).

These demands were presented to Prudential on October 1, sixty days before the expiration of the contract as required by federal law. In the first negotiations on October 11 the company presented its "final" offer in a single package. It amounted to "an increase of $3.11 in weekly commissions to the average agent" and an additional $3.14 in "company-paid benefits for the worker." Prudential candidly acknowledged that the increase did not go to every worker but to the "average agent"—that is, the entire pay-roll increase was divided by the number of agents affected. After all, the company argued, there were agents who were "fit" and some who were "misfit." The few who hustle fast enough would get the feeble reward of the "increase"; the many who cannot meet the standards of the highest commission brackets would get decidedly less.

As soon as the strike was called, Prudential released a barrage of propaganda. Full-page advertisements in the papers keynoted the campaign in a huge streamer—IF YOUR PRUDENTIAL AGENT DOESN'T CALL. "The strike issue is compensation," said the text. "So far this year the average agent has earned $111 per week . . . virtually double what he made ten years ago." What this impressive "$111 per week" really means was not stated. Pressed for an explanation, the company finally acknowledged that the figure was based on the theoretical earnings of a theoretical person, "the average agent"; at the same time it took great care not to say that the $111 per week represented the average earnings of all agents. The union contends that the average take-home pay is no more than half this amount.

The same advertisement said Prudential could not possibly grant the union's request because it was "bound by . . . a New York State insurance law which limits the expenses nationally of any life-insurance company doing business within the state." The day the strike was called, the insurance industry announced that it favored a proposed revision of the law. Roger Hull, executive vice-president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, speaking *ex cathedra* for the industry, stated that if the present commission rates for agents went up, the cost of policies might have to be increased. At the same time he admitted that "no company at present is paying the limit in commissions to agents."

The nub of the company's position appeared at the end of the ad. After the phrase, "Here's what to do to keep your insurance in force," policy-holders were instructed how to make payments on their premiums without the agent's help. If the company is able to collect premiums without the agents, it can weather the strike with few if any losses. That Prudential is prepared to hold out indefinitely was demonstrated during negotiations when an official said: "Pay-roll savings while agents are on strike will more than make up for any incidental loss which you [the union] may cause."

The company's arbitrary attitude reflects a fear of the growing power of the white-collar worker, traditionally the most feeble, inarticulate, and easily-pushed-around component of the labor force. In this case the fear is justified. Each week Prudential's agents collect eight million dollars—not, be it noted, in the form of premiums on new policies but in nickels, dimes, and quarters applied against premiums on policies already in force. "Listen, brother," explained one union official with twenty years' experience on the streets, "we're the original

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five-and-ten fortune hunters. To keep the policies of working-class policy-holders in force, the agents must catch them at odd moments, coaxing the cash from them when they have it. No routine collection system could possibly garner in these premiums. Prudential has depended on the agents to collect some $416,000,000 annually. Realizing its dependence, the company wants to break the union.

Support for the strike has grown steadily. The agents are close to the people they serve, and their case appeals strongly to the sympathies of the general public. An insurance agent works hectically all day to eke out a meager living. He must often visit the same address several times to collect sixty cents or a dollar. He works nights and week-ends. If he has clients out of town, he may have to stay overnight, at his own expense, to make collections the following morning. If he tries to supplement his earnings with outside work, he runs the risk of being summarily fired. He must dress well, and he must have an automobile. To add to his woes, he does not pick up his week's earnings until *thirteen weeks* after he has turned in the premiums on which it is based.

Officially Prudential has laughed off the strike. But in Kansas City, where the company rents offices in a building owned by a boiler-makers' union, an ultimatum has been sent to the company to settle the strike or get out. The building-trades unions in Los Angeles joined pickets in front of Prudential's swanky new office building on Wilshire Boulevard because the company had used non-union labor in its construction. And the New Jersey Federation of Labor has asked the state to withdraw from Prudential some $2,310,000 in group policies for state-highway patrolmen.

The union recognizes that it has a tough fight on its hands. An official of the striking New York local put it this way: "Prudential has as feudal a setup as you can get. The worker is a serf. The insurance companies are masters of propaganda—after all, it's their business, and they have billions! They'll dish out a lot of figures and percentages to show they are right. But even in these days that's something we can't eat—figures and percentages."

Arabian Night's Tale

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

FOR long the United States has been able to boast a per capita income far in excess of that of any other country. In the very near future, however, its preeminence in this respect may be challenged by a land most Americans have never heard of—the independent Sheikdom of Kuwait, which lies at the head of the Persian Gulf. This sandy strip of territory, eighty miles long by fifty wide and so dry that it has to import drinking water from Mesopotamia, has for centuries been as poverty-stricken as its neighbors. But beneath its subsoil there lives a genii, in the shape of the richest oil pool in the world, which is now offering Kuwait wealth in almost embarrassing amounts.

In recent months Sheik Abdullah Al Subah, the hereditary absolute ruler of the country, who has sole title to its minerals, has been receiving in royalties some $65,000 a day, or $22,595,000 a year. But this income was based on payments of 10 to 13 cents a barrel by the concession-holding Kuwait Oil Company—a joint venture of Anglo-Iranian Oil and Gulf Oil of America—and compared unfavorably with the 40 cents a barrel or more which neighboring potentates, such as King Ibn Saud, were collecting from oil companies operating in their territories. Not surprisingly, therefore, Abdullah demanded better terms, and with the production of the Kuwait wells gaining in importance by the loss of Iran, he has been able to renegotiate his contract on the basis of a 50 per cent share in the company's profits.

Next year, according to the London *Times*, the Sheik's oil income may reach $140,000,000, a sum which, if divided equally among the 150,000 inhabitants of Kuwait, would give them upward of $900 apiece, or more money than most of them earn in a lifetime. Of course, it will not be divided evenly. As I mentioned earlier, this income accrues solely to the Sheik, and its disposition is in his hands.

Fortunately, he is reported to be a benevolent despot with modest personal tastes and a relatively small family to support. Even prior to the new agreement he had a large surplus available, part of which he was devoting to social and economic development. He is building roads, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, and a tuberculosis sanitarium; he has nearly completed a plant for the distillation of salt water with a capacity for a million gallons a day; he has Western experts working on a plan for reconstruction of the town of Kuwait, where the majority of his subjects live.

But as the London *Times* has pointed out, all these projects and others that may follow will not absorb $140,000,000 a year. Moreover, the attempt to invest a sum of this magnitude inside so small a country may easily lead to serious inflation unless great efforts are made to insure a flow of consumable goods commensurate with increased individual incomes. Thus the Sheik has a difficult problem. One solution would be for him to develop a Point Four program of his own for the benefit of his less fortunate Moslem neighbors—for instance, the Arab refugees from Israel, whose plight is again attracting the attention of the U. N. That would be an action in keeping with Arab traditions of benevolent despotism and one that would complete the resemblance of Sheik Abdullah Al Subah's story to those recorded in the Thousand and One Nights.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Images of History

LIFE IN AMERICA. By Marshall B. Davidson. Houghton Mifflin Company. Two Volumes. $20.

WHILE publishing generally is said to be in the doldrums, there are apparently plenty of customers for handsome and expensive picture books. The modern eye, conditioned by movies and television, has become impatient with the printed word, says Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in his introduction to this book, but "will still linger fascinated over a thousand images of history." As a result we have "a new type of scholarship which gives authority to pictorial representation as a substitute for masses of printed words."

This is perhaps an exaggeration. At any rate, Mr. Davidson, in interpreting the twelve hundred pictures he has selected to illustrate his theme, has used, according to his publishers' count, no fewer than a quarter of a million words —quite a massive number. I have no quarrel with him on this score, since I am old-fashioned enough to enjoy reading, but a good many purchasers of the book may be content to look at the pictures and neglect the text. That would be a mistake, for Mr. Davidson's well-written commentary complements rather than supplements his graphic material, and he has as keen an eye for the apt quotation as for the telling picture.

In preparing this work Mr. Davidson ransacked the museums, libraries, and private collections of the country to excellent purpose. His collection of illustrations is most varied and includes maps, pencil sketches, lithographs, cartoons, oil paintings, and photographs. Wherever possible he has chosen pictures by contemporaries, preferring their authenticity, however crude they may be artistically, to later "reconstructions." Consequently many famous historical pictures are omitted, although room has been given to a few, like Benjamin West's painting of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, which through familiarity have acquired symbolic importance.

This book, it must be emphasized, is concerned with social history; politics and war are treated only incidentally. It is divided into nine chapters which after the first three—Colonial America, East Goes West, and Square-Rigger Empire —deal with broad areas of interest rather than the chronological record. The section on industrial America deals adequately with technological developments, but I found its treatment of the rise of the great institutions of business and labor decidedly thin. Surely the second theme could have been more dramatically illustrated than by a very posed photograph of federal troops guarding a train during the Pullman strike in Chicago—the only picture directly concerned with the long battle for union recognition.

One outstanding American trait has been mobility. In his introduction to Chapter VIII—Roads to Union—Mr. Davidson quotes Washington on the vital importance of better communications if the struggling union was to be preserved. The way in which the young nation was bound together and the great empty West opened to settlement is here admirably illustrated. The first picture in the section shows a rutted track near York Town—the Baltimore Road in 1788: the last the traffic-control tower at LaGuardia Airport. In between we have the whole dramatic story of transportation, from the turnpikes of the early nineteenth century, through the canal, steamship, and railroad booms, to the super-highways of today.

Ideas are harder to illustrate than facts, but Mr. Davidson in his last section, The Democratic Mold, has succeeded in giving graphic representation to America's *mores*, characteristics, and attitudes. Thus an amusing lithograph of a thoroughly awkward militia squad in 1832 tells us a lot about the American resistance to imposed discipline. Again the enthusiasm for "joining," an apparent paradox in a nation celebrated for extreme individualism, is highlighted by a photograph of fantastically garbed Odd Fellows at a lodge meeting and, more grimly, by a picture of a Klan initiation. And there could be no better comment on the physical and moral energy that conquered the West, and the habit of hyperbole that went with it, than Gropper's magnificent lithograph of Paul Bunyan flourishing a huge tree trunk.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Understanding Auden

AUDEN: AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY. By Richard Hoggart. Yale University Press. $3.75.

IF, as I have just done, you read most of W. H. Auden's writings at one stretch, you are likely to come away bewildered by the number and diversity of your impressions. There is, most apparently, the writer's astonishing virtuosity. In prose and verse he is equally at home. The forms he has chosen extend from the loosest and most discursive to the tightest and most epigrammatic, and he has often adapted to his purposes the archaic or outré contrivances of other literary eras. In the individual word his abilities are most appreciable; no other living poet, for instance, can surpass his skill with rhymes. His sudden shifts of temperament are baffling and sometimes annoying, for Auden can be both brilliant and dull, clownish and pedantic, persuasive and recriminatory, all in a single short poem. You feel sometimes that there is a mutiny in his vocabulary, words in swift squadrons fighting for possession of the page.

The easiest way to attack this amplitude is, in a manner of speaking, to discard the failures. Under the severest measure, which one can easily afford to apply to Auden, my own liking falls exclusively on the short poems—the songs, some of the sonnets, ballads, nursery rhymes, meditative and dramatic lyrics—a medium-sized bookful of splendid poems. I was pleased to see that they come from every phase of Auden's career, including several from his recent collection, "Nones." Yet in some ways the choice is surprising and disquieting, for Auden has devoted a great deal of his attention to longer works. His plays all seem to me imperfect; "The Quest" is almost belliger-

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ently elliptical; "The Sea and the Mirror" contains excellent sections but is scarcely an integrated work; "The Age of Anxiety" is by turns unfathomable and boring. His best example of sustained good writing is, I think, "New Year Letter"; and "For the Time Being" is the best dramatic work.

In one of his letters to Christopher Isherwood, Auden wrote, "We are all too deeply involved with Europe to be able, or even to wish, to escape. The truth is, we are both only really happy living among lunatics." If one substitutes for "living" the word "journeying," this makes a pretty good description of Auden's situation as a poet, for one of his most constant themes is the journey, the search, the questing traveler in an insane and desperate society. Now this is a very romantic idea but not a practical one. How does one cope with, and at the same time please, the insane? What reliable help do the insane offer to the search? How do crazy people deal with memory, tradition, and value? The traveler's hope becomes his virtuosity; he is an entertainer, a sleight-of-hand artist. Thus he may please his crazy hosts, but if he does not, he has a good chance of escaping to the next town. His danger is that his skill may get out of hand. In Auden's long poems, where he pursues a moral end with essentially metaphysical means, his virtuosity does get out of hand. Too often the troublesome part of the argument calls up a flourish of rhetorical tricks—the capitalized abstraction, the generalized image from politics or psychiatry, the scrap of a foreign language. On the formal level, bizarre and difficult verse forms tumble after one another kaleidoscopically, and sections of prose intrude against the ear. We find the shocking instead of the genuinely evocative metaphor. These long works tend to be programs of brilliant fragments—vaudeville—not poetic units. Some short poems too suffer from these defects, but many are about ideas so particular or experiences so well known that the evasions and corroborations of virtuosity are unnecessary. And it is worth noting that the most successful long poem, "New Year Letter," is written throughout in a standard, simple English meter.

This is only a suggestion of the problems that face the critic of Auden's work. They are difficult problems because Auden has quite rightly insisted on dealing with difficult affairs. Yet Mr. Hoggart, in this first long study of Auden's writing, has made an admirable beginning. Wisely, he has limited himself to an introduction to Auden's poetry: his book is primarily neither exegesis nor criticism. He distinguishes the periods of Auden's development, the main characteristics of his style, the principal elements of his thought. He speculates briefly on such matters as sources, influences, and motivations. As one might expect, his own motivation is partly a warm regard for the poetry he is considering, though he does not hesitate to utter a harsh criticism when the need arises. Only occasionally, as when he calls the Preface to "The Sea and the Mirror" a work "of superb polish and irony," does he commit a probably pardonable error of taste. Nor do I want to intimate that this is a superficial or stereotyped book. Although it is intended principally for those who do not have a thorough acquaintance with Auden's work, and although Mr. Hoggart sets certain obvious limits to his presentation of a poet who is still in the midst of an active career, this is a shrewd and careful essay.

Auden has said that art is a game. He has expanded this concept significantly in other areas of his thinking, but as a plain statement it is crude and a little dangerous. For one of the essential requirements of a game is that it shall be unproductive; whereas art is not art at all unless it makes something. Mr. Hoggart succeeds very well in showing that Auden's own successes are scarcely the result of a game.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

The "Happy" Homosexual

THE HOMOSEXUAL IN AMERICA. A Subjective Approach. By Donald Webster Cory. Greenberg: Publisher. $4.

THIS book presents us with the picture of male homosexuality in this country from a homosexual's point of view. There is no doubt that Mr. Cory has given us an accurate factual story—as heard many times in any analyst's office. The author, writing under a pseudonym, has also acquainted himself with a very adequate background of the scientific and lay literature of homosexuality to buttress his personal experiences. All in all, this is a workmanlike job of describing the daily life of the homosexual, the prejudices of the community against him, the archaic and unenforceable laws against him, and the literature of which he is a part.

Essentially the book starts off as a plea for understanding and tolerance with which no honest observer could argue. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Cory is carried away by his enthusiasm for the advantages of the life of the homosexual to the point where the volume ends up almost as a promotional job. He attempts to protect himself from this type of accusation by insisting that the psychiatric profession —as well as other intelligent observers —come into contact only with those homosexuals who are unhappy, confused, or suicidal. He justifies his glowing description of the life of the "happy" homosexual by insisting that only those who have lived in it from the inside can appreciate its virtues. This type of argument is notorious in the analytical profession, where any scientific difference with other groups is frequently tossed away cavalierly with the comment that they should be "properly" analyzed before they can hope to discuss the problem intelligently. By such standards, only a happy, well-adjusted homosexual could review this book.

Another weakness of an otherwise interesting book is its total therapeutic nihilism toward the problem of homosexuality. Nobody questions the difficulties involved in the shift from overt homosexuality to the life of heterosexuality, with or without competent psychiatric help. But this author goes much farther and discourages any attempts at such a shift—as hopeless to begin with. He quotes very extensively from psychiatric literature to fortify his arguments, but selects only those passages which will aid his own point of view. Thus he completely neglects much recent work, especially that of Anna Freud, which has given so much encouragement to efforts to deal with this difficult problem. More than ever before, homosexuality is now considered an emotional illness, psychically determined, which is only a symptom of complex character problems frequently amenable to psychotherapy. Completely

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neglected in this volume are the passive, dependent character constellations which determine proneness to homosexuality, and the dangers of seduction into a homosexual way of life by the ease of homosexual fulfilment—in contrast to the aggression, self-sufficiency, and responsibility which are necessary to establish a heterosexual way of life.

Of much more concern to this reviewer, however, is the larger ethical question which this book poses. Much of the recent literature on homosexuality and sex in general—such as Kinsey, Ford, and Beach—tends to impress the gullible reader with the wide variation of sexual practices, in different cultures as well as in different biological species. Beginning with an attitude of tolerant liberalism, they all end up with an attack on the accepted sexual *mores* of our own Western Hebrew-Christian society. As a plea for less prejudice they are undoubtedly justified. But what these authors seem to forget, or do not know, is that the sexual practices of the individual and his community can never be studied out of context of personality structure, religious-moral system, prestige values, economic system, and so forth. If the authors who recommend unlimited variations of sexual practice were prepared to argue for the family structure of the guinea pig or the economic system of the Marquesans it would make more sense. But instead, they all belittle the rather narrow limits of sexual "normality" in our culture, challenging the goals which are traditional for our culture—offering only unlimited variation as an alternative.

This undoubtedly, in the long run, will have a rather anxiety-producing effect. For no one individual can be *all things*, and each individual can and must work out a way of life which is in tune with his own background, his own family structure, and his own society. The fact that isolated individuals cannot attain the "normal" for their own society is in many ways pathetic and we certainly should be tolerant of them, but this still does not justify a massive attack against the established practices of the larger elements of the community. We shall always need guideposts for each individual society, whether all the travelers along the road desire to follow the road map or not.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

A Legend Analyzed

REUNION AND REACTION. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. Vann Woodward. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

MYTHS and legends, contrived by the purposive and perpetuated by the guileless, have long obscured our understanding of the South. The Old South remains for us today a congeries of myths: of happy, banjo-strumming slaves, of a universally prosperous and generous white population, of aristocratic gentility and learning. An equally spurious mythology dominates our thinking about Reconstruction and the emergence of the New South. Myths and legends are important—as cultural artifacts—for our understanding of the past, but we cannot rightly substitute them for reality. And it is to the extent that we live in a historical world of fantasy, myth, and legend that we are unprepared to deal adequately with those contemporary problems that are the legacy of a real rather than a mythical Southern past.

One of the most persistent and widely accepted legends of the New South concerns the end of Reconstruction and the settlement of the disputed election of 1876. The story of the so-called Wormley Bargain of February, 1877, has been repeated as often as historians have written of post-Civil War America. Even today it remains the historian's standard explanation not only of the choice for President of the Republican Hayes over the Democrat Tilden but also of the resolution of the most destructive conflict of our national history. It is just this legend that Professor Woodward critically and carefully analyzes in his perceptive volume. In the significance and importance of the issues and interests uncovered in his analysis we can best appreciate the deceptive quality of myth and legend.

When the votes were counted in the Presidential canvass of 1876, it was clear that Tilden had won a substantial popular majority; it was equally clear that fraudulent manipulation of returns from Southern states still controlled by Republican carpetbaggers could give an electoral majority and the Presidency to Hayes. For weeks and then months the nation anxiously awaited a definitive count of the electoral vote by Congress. But the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives was Democratic, and the deadlock seemed unbreakable. Then, late in February, 1877, friends of Hayes met with a group of Southern Democrats at Wormley's Hotel in Washington. Legend dramatically has it that at Wormley's a bargain was struck that ended the fateful deadlock. Republicans wanted the Presidency, while supposedly to the gallant Southerners nothing was more important than to rescue the two states still dominated by Republican carpetbag governments. The legendary bargain was simplicity itself: Southerners defeated their own party's efforts to prevent a count of fraudulent electoral returns that would make Hayes President. In return, the newly inaugurated Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South, restoring political control to Southerners and bringing Reconstruction to an end.

But reality, alas, is not as simple as fantasy, and Professor Woodward's concern is with the complexities of reality. He finds that the traditional bargain was but the political consummation of negotiations of long duration that involved—that indeed were determined by—the economic interests of conservative Northern and Southern leaders. Here Northerners abandoned the Negro, sacrificing the "idealistic and humanitarian" fruits of the Civil War to preserve what to them was of greater importance, the "pragmatic and economic" results of that Second American Revolution. To preserve—against growing Western and laborite agitation—economic gains that amounted to the imposition of industrial capitalism upon a nation but recently predominately agricultural, Southern support had to be secured and the conservative policies and candidates of the Republican Party sustained. Only part of the price paid for that support was the abandonment of Reconstruction and of the Negro.

Professor Woodward has uncovered convincing evidence that conservative Southern participants in what he calls the Compromise of 1877 were no less concerned with economic matters than were their Republican counterparts. These descendants of pre-Civil War

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Southern Whiggery were surely not seeking the simple political quid pro quo of the legendary Wormley Bargain. Their final support of Hayes had less to do with his promise to remove federal troops than with his commitment to support Southern "internal improvements," particularly appropriations for railroad subsidies and river and harbor improvements that would bring to the South a substantial share of the national "boodle."

More important, the author's researches indicate that the theme of the long months of negotiations before the actual Wormley meetings was not the mutual extortion of immediate concessions by antagonists but rather the recognition of a basic community of interests between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats. This common interest was, briefly, economic and political conservatism—a devotion to the maintenance of the new economic order, its profitable expansion into the South, and the development of a supporting national political structure. As conservative Southerners shared in the fruits of capitalist largess, so, under their regime, "the South became a bulwark instead of a menace to the new order." And it is in this early alignment of conservatives North and South that the roots of today's Dixiecrat-Republican coalition are to be found.

In this eminently readable volume Professor Woodward has made a major contribution to our understanding of Southern interests and issues. His penetrating and provocative analysis of this most far-reaching compromise of our national history indicates clearly the inadequacy and superficiality of long accepted myths. And it provides us with important insights into the realities of contemporary Southern and national politics. This is history as it should be written—and read.

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

Books in Brief

INCREDIBLE NEW YORK. By Lloyd Morris. Random House. $5. The author of "Postscript to Yesterday" presents a lightly readable pageant of New York life from 1850 to 1950 with especial emphasis on colorful characters, social feuds, and the extremes of ostentation and degradation that have characterized this most hyperbolic of cities. Reading Mr. Morris one realizes that New York today is a model of decorum compared to the rough, tough, and bawdy city of a century ago, when it contained more "public prostitutes than Methodists," when every room of the most notorious brothel was equipped with a Bible as well as a bed, and when Madam Restell's palace of abortion on Fifth Avenue was one of the show places of the city.

OUR MR. WRENN. By Sinclair Lewis. Crowell. $3. A reissue of Lewis's first novel (1914), about a meek clerk who inherits just enough money for a brief fling in Europe. Although characteristic of its author's later and better-structured work in its bouncing vitality and jovial satire of both petit bourgeois and bohemian, the fact that the story has been told so often since 1914 makes it of interest primarily to the curious and to students of American literature.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ACCORDING to a program note for "Don Juan in Hell" (Century Theater) Bernard Shaw advised Charles Laughton against undertaking the project on the ground that this third act of "Man and Superman" was "nothing but words." This was one of the few occasions on which Shaw ever underestimated his own appeal and also almost the only time when a prophecy about himself ultimately turned out to be wrong.

As everyone knows by now, the reading of his philosophical dialogue by the group which calls itself "The First Drama Quartet" is the sensational success of the season and is already booked for a return engagement in April. Obviously the wit who a few years ago described Shaw as a man who had "outlived the day he was born too soon for" will have to eat his words, and the present instance is only one of many which demonstrate that so far as the general public is concerned Shaw is just now coming into his own. Nearly half a century ago he wrote his New York agent, Elizabeth Marbury, rejecting her suggestion that he should consider more carefully the taste of his audience and boasted that if he kept on just as he had started the time would come when he would be wallowing in the wealth showered upon him "by a dramatically regenerated public." Even Shaw did not live long enough to see just how abundantly his self-confidence was justified, and old Shavians who contemplate the laughter and enthusiasm with which fifty-year-old quips are being greeted at the Century by an audience which appears to be meeting them for the first time can hardly help feeling a little superior to those who took so long to discover things which they themselves have begun to think of as sometimes charmingly *vieux jeu*.

It is true, of course, that the bold novelty of the enterprise and the prestige of the cast count for something. But neither would be sufficient to put across two hours of talk if the audience did not find that talk absorbingly interesting, and to give Shaw himself more than half the credit is not to discount the brilliant performance put on by the Quartet or the dazzling virtuosity which enables it to realize all the possibilities of a novel method of presentation. Apparently it was the producer, Paul Gregory, and Mr. Laughton who

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conceived the project, but all concerned have worked out a method not quite like any I have ever seen exploited before. Though the music stands with a text are still placed before each speaker, the performance is by now obviously recitation rather than a reading, and it is also something which maintains a consistent style somewhere between what could be called declamation and what could be called acting. There is enough gesture and movement to keep the whole thing beautifully alive; never enough to suggest merely an imperfect performance. The Quartet seems to have understood exactly what it wanted to do and to do just that with a sureness of touch which puts the audience instantly at ease and never for a moment creates the feeling that the method is bastard rather than a perfectly legitimate form of presentation. Moreover, each individual is admirably cooperative as well as admirably fitted to his particular role. Upon Charles Boyer the heaviest burden falls, and though I must confess that his accent became slightly disturbing before the long evening was over, no other criticism could be made of his humorously passionate performance as Don Juan, the author's own special spokesman. Charles Laughton as the sentimental old fraud who is less a Prince of Darkness than simply the embodiment of all those "human" weaknesses which Shaw's detractors blame him for not sharing is superb; and so too is Cedric Hardwicke as the amiably dim-witted aristocrat who reached his inevitable end when he became a rather handsome marble statue. As Donna Anna, Agnes Moorehead has the fewest words to speak but for all that gives what may possibly be the most remarkable performance. She is silent for all but a few minutes of the time, but she is surely one of the best listeners three talkers ever had. With an occasional gesture of the hands, a sudden turning of the head, and above all by means of a perpetually fluid flow of quietly modulated expression across a singularly mobile countenance she provides a running commentary on the discourse without which it would lose a very considerable part of its comic effectiveness. There are probably few texts which would lend themselves as well as the present one does to this method of presentation, but I should not be surprised to see it tried with success on others. Perhaps this is one answer to the absurd and self-defeating costliness of theatrical presentation today.

"I Am a Camera" (Empire Theater) is John Van Druten's play based on one of the stories in Christopher Isherwood's fictional account of his life in the Berlin Bohemia during the early days of Hitler's rise to power. Julie Harris's virtuoso performance as a charming and pathetic little upper-class tramp running away from herself will carry the play, and Miss Harris—who was memorable as the Member of the Wedding two seasons ago—has a verve which may well make her a sensational figure in the theater. Without her, however, the play would be little or nothing, and it never quite succeeds in what was obviously its intention. Like the title, the whole business of introducing Isherwood himself as a sort of narrator seems merely irrelevant and never gives the play the special dimension it was supposed to contribute.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Metropolitan's new "Aida" gave evidence of the care and intelligence that had produced last year's "Don Carlo"; but also evidence this time—in details of scenery, costumes, staging, and casting—of miscalculation. Most of Rolf Gerard's scenery was impressive, and most of Margaret Webster's staging clear and effective; but the huge image of Phta with its back to the audience in the foreground of the temple scene, the placing of the king at the top of the stairs and Amneris at the bottom in the triumph scene, the colors of the costumes in this scene, the commercial waterfront setting for the Nile scene—these did not work, for me. However, they weren't as disturbing as the mistakes in casting. There were George London, a magnificent singing actor, as Amonasro; Elena Nikolaidi, still a superb singing actress though her powerful voice has lost the sensuous richness it had, as Amneris; and James Hines, an excellent Ramfis. But the Aida was Zinka Milanov, with her voice still luscious in its lower range, but able to manage the high notes only as precarious pianissimos; and the Rhadames was Mario Del Monaco, whose unpleasantly dry, hard, tight voice and lack of the slightest lyricism in his singing made his presence on the Metropolitan's stage incomprehensible.

Columbia's recording of the Bayreuth Festival "Meistersinger" offers superb singing by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf as

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Eva, Otto Edelmann as Sachs, Erich Kunz as Beckmesser, and Ira Malaniuk as Magdalena; but the light tenor of Gerhard Unger, clear and steady in David's high notes, quavers in its lower range, as the rich bass of Friedrich Dalberg, the Pogner, does in its upper range; and far more damaging to the performance is the shockingly deteriorated voice of Hans Hopf, the Walter. Something of a shock are the poor woodwinds in the orchestra, and the brass section which in the Prelude to Act 3 doesn't produce anything like the beautiful, integrated, and legato sound like that of one instrument which one heard in Toscanini's recent performance. And the final surprise for someone who remembers the wonderful sound of performances in the Bayreuth Festival Theater is the recorded sound of this "Meistersinger" performance—coarse, not cleanly defined, not clear in contrapuntal texture, and without depth and fullness. Moreover the sound deteriorates and is enveloped in a hash of distortion as the pickup moves toward the center of the record—earlier and worse on the five sides with the first and second acts than on the five with the third act. It looks now as though one should wait for Acts 1 and 2 of the London "Meistersinger."

Sound of finer quality and the proper depth and fullness is produced by Columbia's Bayreuth recording of Act 3 of "Die Walküre." There is excellent singing by Sigurd Björling as Wotan; but Astrid Varnay's Brünnhilde and Leonie Rysanek's Sieglinde are tremolo-ridden, as are most of the Valkyrs; and the music, except for parts of Wotan's Farewell, is some of Wagner's worst.

One of the outstanding events of the year is the Columbia recording of the performance of Alban Berg's "Wozzeck" last spring in which Mitropoulos conducted the New York Philharmonic, the Schola Cantorum, and soloists headed by Mack Harrell and Eileen Farrell. It is as impressive on rehearing as it was then; and it is excellently reproduced by the recording, which is being sold for the benefit of the Philharmonic's Pension Fund. My copy produces clicks and other such noises. Only an English summary of the action.

From RCA Victor comes an LP transference of a ten-year-old recording of "Pelléas et Mélisande" that is issued here for the first time. The singers are excellent; and Désormière conducts a beautifully wrought performance. The orchestra is reproduced well alone, but is blanketed by the singers. No French text, and not even a complete English translation.

Columbia has transferred to an LP record Muzio's recordings of arias from "La Traviata," "Norma," "La Forza del Destino," and other operas, and the two duets from "Otello." The performances of the arias are the constant swelling and contracting of vocal sound that I recall as Muzio's way of singing in her early years at the Metropolitan; only in the duets (with a bad tenor) does she sing simply. There is some distortion of the sound.

The lovely voice and simple singing of Muzio's pre-Metropolitan days—together with a sloppy performance of Micaela's aria—can be heard in the old acoustic recordings dubbed on an Esoteric LP (500).

The unique voice and style of Conchita Supervia can now be heard in a number of her recordings that Decca has transferred to two LP's. One gives us arias and duets and the Card Scene from "Carmen"—the Card Scene with some distortion of the sound. The other gives us arias and ensembles from Rossini's "Cenerentola," "L'Italiana in Algieri," and "The Barber of Seville," including Rossini's original Lesson Scene—"L'Italiana" dubbed from shellac with alteration of the voice, but the others good.

And a Victor LP offers new recordings of the lustrous voice of Jussi Björling in beautiful performances of arias from "Carmen," "Faust," and "L'Africana," among others.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Art

MANNY FARBER

THE latest show of weariness in American art can now be viewed at the Whitney Museum, where 150 painters are enlisted in a nation-wide survey of the work of 1951—a survey that sags almost as much as the joists under the museum's squeaking floors. From its first room, given over to vertical-horizontal checkering of space by Mondrian disciples, to its last—in which a John Sloan follower named Cox uses his brush as a needle to loop endless threads around two black-stockinged nudes and thereby presents us with the cheapest sex painting ever to be invited to the Whitney—the exhibit offers New Yorkers a chance to see our best artists with their techniques up, their spirits down, and their eclecticism everywhere showing. This dispiriting effect issues from the dedication today to flat over-all design, and the clearest point made by the current doings at the Whitney is that the two-dimensional art put across by the

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Cubists invariably drives the painter into repetitious parallelism and traps him into discarding such things as color transition, subtlety of form, or loving brushing. So much bath water is tossed out, in fact, that the baby just dries up and blows away.

It is not altogether surprising, then, to find that this 1951 gathering of the clan—under the "radical" banners of Hoffman, Pollock, and Motherwell—seems even more quiet and controlled than most of the more realistic Annuals of the past. These avant-gardists, who formerly specialized in out-sized canvases, this year are content with the modest dimensions that they once rejected for fear of making "a hole in the wall"; also passé now are erratic contours, aggressive color, and the thick impasto; all in all, there is so little untoward violence in these new paintings that it is comparatively easy to detach each artist's trademark and look it blandly in the eye.

Take the first thing that hits you as you enter Room 1—Fritz Glarner's "Rational Painting," a linoleum-like construction with a pool-hall pallor. Glarner is a cool, and overpoweringly dull, artist who seems to be trying to introduce imbalance into Mondrian's perfectly ordered geometry. The only biting sensations in this example of his work come in the patches where he has roughened up a pure color by covering it with a gray tone. Alongside this nerveless picture is an artistically computed version of what seems to be a floor plan for a ranch-type bungalow. I. Rice Pereira, promulgator of this faded Prussian blueprint, has hit on the idea of lifting some of her ruled one-inch lines about an eighth of an inch off their masonite surface. The careful bas-relief thus performed suggests a precious bit of concrete work in an orange substance succulent enough to eat.

Moving along to the Intrasubjectivists, one finds that these masters of free forms and free applications have undergone some changes. Pollock has begun to introduce organic shapes into his canvas, but his real force still springs from his homely textures and the motion of his chopped-up background space rather than his tiresomely undeveloped experiments in crescents. Baziotes has dropped the wandering watch-spring shape and most of the contours from his slithy, slimy mint-green toves; Hoffman has muralized and stiffened his explosions; Stamos, the stone-under-water painter, now goes in for a black-white picture with a slashed-out shape suggesting a badly cut boomerang; Motherwell has moved from vivid plane geometry to somber flat biology. (And yet he remains the only American, I think, who has the nerve to rely on sensibility instead of bravado. His charm comes from an ability to stand back and study balances and color relationships—as Mondrian did; his limitation lies in the fact that nothing he does seems to contain much real application of brush to canvas.) These new developments do not indicate the imaginative groping of avant-guardists so much as the worried maneuverings of no longer startling arrivistes.

Though even the best things in this Annual seem to have been done in that gray overcast of fatigue and insecurity which makes American painting look as if it were all practiced at home after a hard day at the office, there are at least a few pictures which must have caused the artist to sweat, to push his technique beyond gaucheness into the sound, hard-earned subtleties that Americans like Homer and Eakins substituted for sparkle and bounce. In Gottlieb's ominous fantasy, for instance, even though it is stamped with the endemic crassness of the Kootz group, there is pleasantly little indecision in the large spiked shape of sanded black which sits over a scrubbed tan background and a distant sprinkling of determined-looking symbols that might be bottle-openers or spokes from the wheels of Conestoga wagons. Here is the occasional Gottlieb which is so soundly constructed as to make its objects seem hammered into place with sixteen-penny nails. The Gottlieb doesn't say much, but it happens to catch him at his best.

In a more realistic vein is Fletcher Martin's good, gentle tone-painting—a picture of a lissom female toying with a couple of shooting-gallery birds. Since relinquishing the portrayal of Negro stevedores, prelim boxers, and broncobusters for the more lucrative job of illustrating medical advertisements, Martin has relaxed.

Of the sixty-four artists who have not previously been hung at the Whitney, the most striking is realist Kenneth Davies, who has developed an eye for tones to a point where he makes the camera seem like a feeble competitor. His picture of a dusky red blotter covered with stray objects—lobster claw, sun glasses, king of diamonds—features an envelope, puckishly addressed to Bishop Berkeley, whose three-cent stamp, watermarks, rips and tears, all go to demonstrate that Davies is an amazing mixer of pigments. He has turned the clutter on a student's desk into an array of precious objects. Another man of tones—gray, black, white—is Robert Vickrey of Greenwich Village, who piquantly reveals a nun wandering through a labyrinth of walls at two o'clock in the morning.

In Martin, Davies, Vickrey, and a few others we have painters actually painting according to Hoyle, with a good many of the delicate tonal enrichments, the compositional rhythms, and the linear refinements that are to be found in the work of the old masters. I do not think these "reactionaries" are as tired, or as tiresome, as their more famous and more liberated colleagues.

PERSONALS

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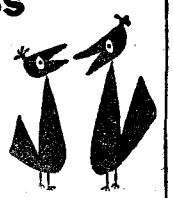

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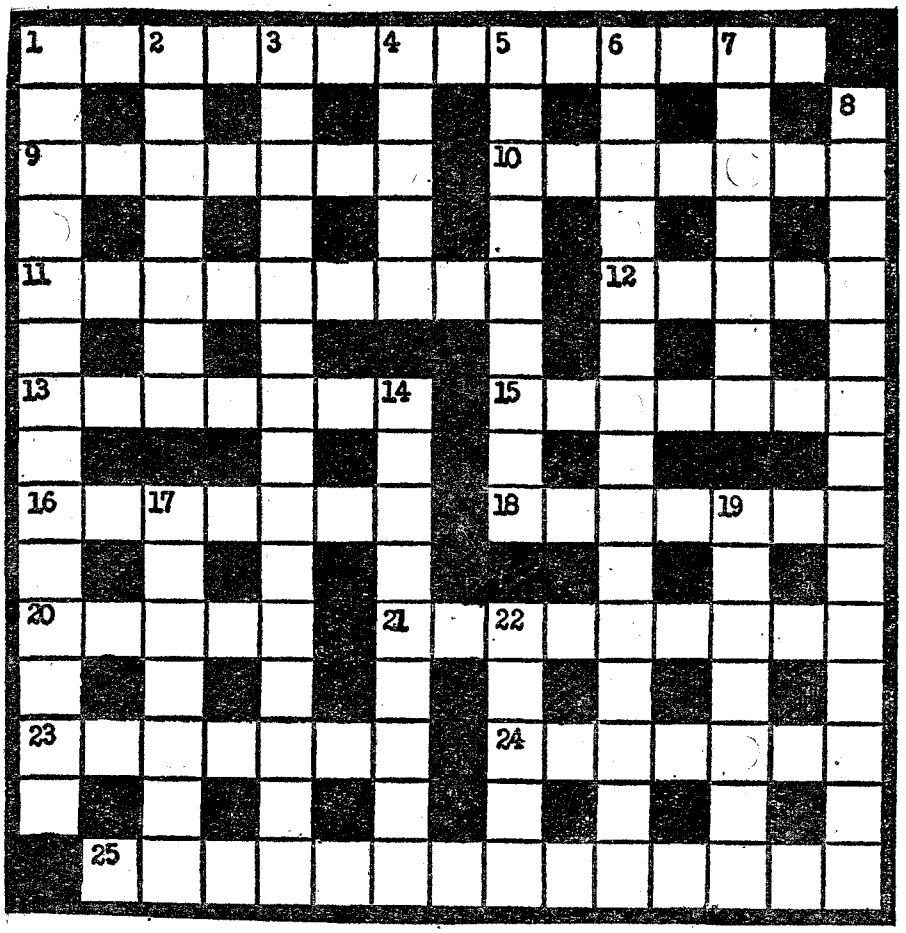
Crossword Puzzle No. 444

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Starting construction—by pulling something away from the terminal? (8, 6)
9 Driving a cab? The referee might blow his whistle for it! (7)
10 The sort of an ache a Greek is upset with. (7)
11 Are they relatively well-fixed in office? (9)
12 Remarkable in the first minutes of the meeting. (5)
13 Given a high chair. (7)
15 Create suspense, by the sound of it, in hiding. (5, 2)
16 Stretches out at full length. (7)
18 The difficulty seems to be mainly another country's money! (7)
20 Copy of a magazine for children? (5)
21 Test the will again—such a one would have to be abandoned! (9)
23 How the equitably separated might correspond. (7)
24 How to make the grade, by the sound of it, depends on the weather. (7)
25 The way one puts notices in roads determines the fees received. (14)

DOWN

1 Where Ochs stood in relation to his work? (6, 3, 5)
2 He knows how to do the Break-away. (7)
3 They're responsible for many a colorful yarn taking shape. (8, 7)
4 African title of the Levantine Gustavus. (5)
5 Just the bird for conversation at a lawn party. (9)
6 He gives the pupils their examination. (15)
7 If you were, you might have got the point of 3. (7)
8 Certainly not the quality of finished goods. (14)
14 Ruined Ilium is surrounded by bad deeds. (9)
17 The Romans used it to shield themselves against attack. (7)
19 Pretense that gets little notice and is extremely well done. (7)
22 Does one cut a caper if on the right track? (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 443

ACROSS:—1 BANK FAILURE; 9 WINNOWED; 10 MOUSER; 11 CALUMNY; 12 MANDATE; 14 and 16 down COVERS THE GROUND; 15 and 25 down SHOOTING STAR; 17 PLUMBAGO; 20 AMENDS; 22 SQUINTS; 24 SHERIFF; 26 DIADEM; 28 FAST FRIENDS.

DOWN:—2 AD NAUSEAM; 3 KIWANIS; 4 ADDS; 5 LUMBAGO; 6 ROUND; 7 MIKADO; 8 and 27 LEFT IN THE LURCH; 13 ESTOP; 18 LIQUID; 19 AUTOMAT; 20 ACHIEVE; 21 DEFECT; 23 INDIA.

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